648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Reverend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
797 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
166 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
648 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

[535] At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[411] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchovani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamairá and Chapokó ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

411 The bow (vuirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tantaú or tantayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, ámayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made [531] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as 171 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to 411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which 439 the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluó) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

1:Baldus--97 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Fig. 13. Knots holding the bow cord.

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe [101] than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers.

171/ The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó 411 arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This [314] piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[237] The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound [824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé) [314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each [237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out [439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
●411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centi-
[462] meters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[252] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane
[237] shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 411 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (3, 9, 33), the feathering of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gê-Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (ibid., Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 191 411 524 Krause (2, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower (aubí, obirũ) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game called anarkánted-uohũ, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

114 171 411 This author (2, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (gohordé) of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. ibid., Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (ibid., 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (ibid., 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (ibid., 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (ibid., Fig. 246).

171 411 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (yvyrá, "stick," the generic term for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (1, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[724] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirâhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their
171 dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
411 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí) described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

224 Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
171 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

311 During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the
484 high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
171 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
224 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

224 Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not
231 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

1:Baldus--190 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Taplapé SP22

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Photo. 3

Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankurá.

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Photo. 4

Maninonó (No. 111), Kaunevanvynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaia (No. 100).

1:Baldus--171 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 5

The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavĩ (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauĩ (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--175 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 24

Men leaving for the hunt.

1:Baldus--179 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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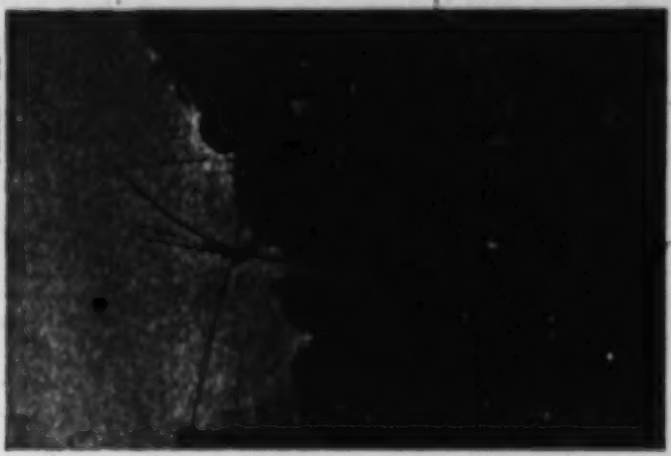
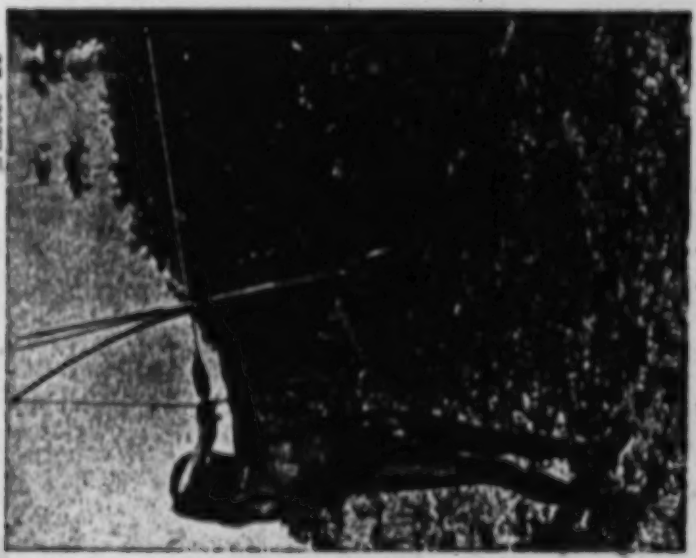
Photo. 26



Shooting a bird arrow.

Photo. 25



Shooting a bird arrow.

I:Baldus--180 E-6 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 27

The proportion between the height of the men and the length of their weapons.

Photo. 28

Man with club.

I:Baldus--181 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 29

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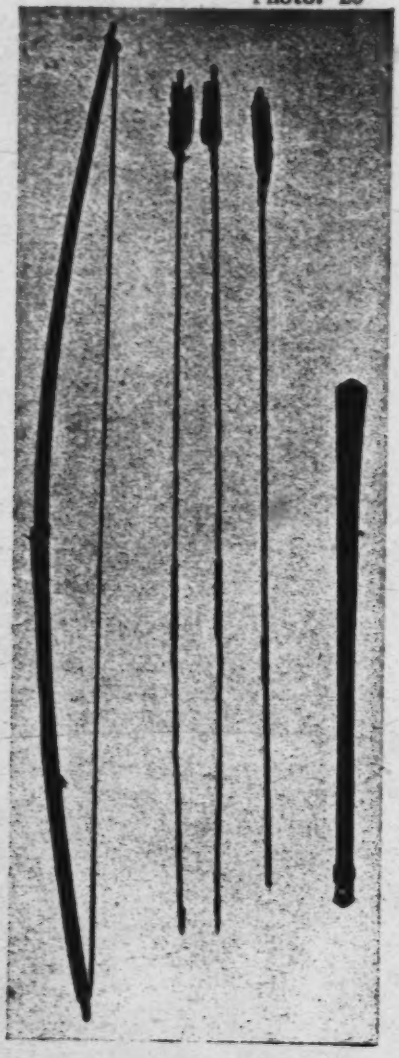

Club, bow, and arrows.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé collected money which they kept as they formerly kept red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

5: Baldus--12 E-5 (1935) 1937 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

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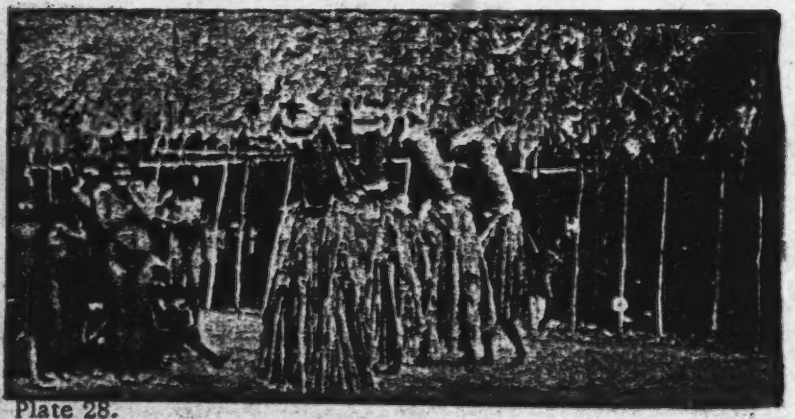

Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

/404 cont./
center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwăă; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĭwŭrŭ, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]

/405 cont./

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Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 531 171 The whole-gourd vessel (kuită; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kăšēdi; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dĭoho, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a [283] → Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, which is led from one corner down along the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. ● [411] → A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of

Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

/409 cont./

252 were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size
B12 with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

25 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians
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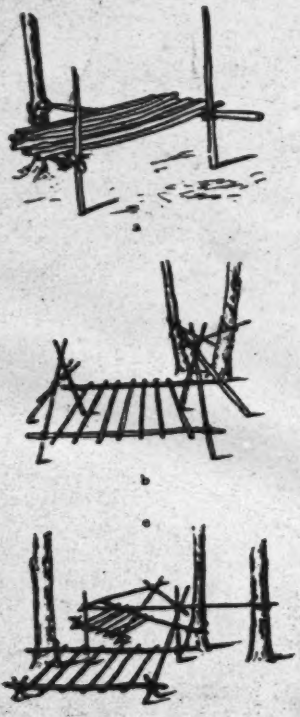
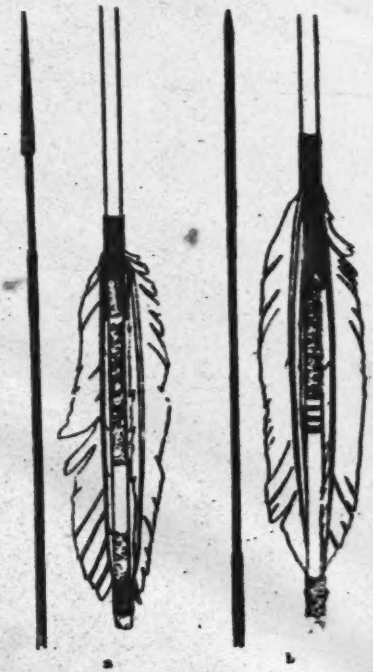


Ill. 269 a-c. Grills from the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.



Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

25 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose
482 they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.

/409 cont./

482 185 [171] The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape; its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

301 411 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off, youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

/411 cont./

411 painted with red lacquer from the top to the center. The end winding consists of a fine white thread; it carries a crossed thread and extends to the notch. The attachment winding between shaft and point is made of embira and consists of two parts which are connected by spiral winding. Thus, this arrow shows nothing that would be foreign to the Karajá. The other arrow is entirely different (Ill. 270b). The long-tapered cane point, 30 centimeters long, is set onto a round wooden stem 49 centimeters long and is simply wound with embira at the point of attachment. The wooden stem, in turn, is set into the cane shaft, which is 75 centimeters long. Its attachment winding of black embira extends almost to the upper feather-winding. The feathering is done in the same way as in the case of the other arrow. The upper winding consists of black cotton thread, to which is joined a black embira winding that extends up to half the intermediate space of the very long feathering. In it are wrapped little red feathers. The notch winding consists of white thread and carries three parallel, widely crossed threads.

105 171 When we sum up everything, we find that the Tapirapé are a people who, like the Karajá and Savajé, live beside lakes on the campo during the rainy season, come to the river during the dry season in order to fish there, but, in contrast to the former, seek out different places one after the other, in other words, migrate within a definite area. They plant manioc and maize, work cotton into hammocks and ornaments, are familiar with pottery, the working of stones into axes and lip plugs, carry bows, arrows, and clubs, and like to decorate their objects with carvings. In many things their culture seems to be very close to that of the Karajá, along with them they probably belong to the same ethnographic province, which is distinctly separate from that of the Xingu region; they differ essentially from them, however, in their small stature, their foreign language, and an ignorance of navigation. /Page 412 is blank. The "Appendix," pp. 413-482, has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Weapons.—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotyrgon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups.

Ceremonial moieties.—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wīrā" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials.

Feast groups.—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tātáupawā (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days